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put to death by Artaxerxes. With these circumstances the tenor of the inscription of Sidon coincides in two important particulars. In the first place, several lines of this inscription are occupied with an enumeration of buildings erected, and such buildings as could not well have been wanting except in consequence of some casualty. These public works evidently constituted a leading feature of the reign of Eshmun'iyed II. But Sidon was rebuilt after its destruction in the time of Artaxerxes, and before Alexander's conquest of Phœnicia; for the latter, about B. C. 320, found a king reigning there, supported by Darius, and took the city (see Arrian, *Exped. Alex.* ii. 15, 6; Q. Curtius, *De Rebus Gestis Alex.* iv. 1, 15 ff.). In the next place, the mother of Eshmun'iyed II. is spoken of in the inscription as a reigning queen, for it appears that the architectural works commemorated were executed under her and her son's joint direction; which implies that her husband was no longer living. These coincidences render it quite probable that the father of Eshmun'iyed II., called Tabnîth in the inscription, was no other than the Tennes of Diodorus. Another consideration, showing the inscription to be not later than Alexander's conquest of Phœnicia, is its frequent reference to a confederacy of Phœnician kingdoms, which can scarcely have existed after Alexander's system of administration over conquered countries had been established there.

The question remains, from what era is the inscription dated. In view of the circumstances which have been alluded to, it seems most probable that the era of this inscription is the re-building of Sidon between B.C. 350 and 320; and, as it is dated in the year 14, it may be set down as very near the truth, that it belongs to the latter half of the generation intervening between the destruction of Sidon in the time of Artaxerxes and its surrender to Alexander.

We now give place to an independent interpretation by our highly esteemed co-laborer Mr. Turner.

E. E. S.



## VII. THE SIDON INSCRIPTION, WITH A TRANSLATION AND NOTES. By WILLIAM W. TURNER.

THIS document is provocative of many remarks palæographical, philological, historical, and mythological, with which scholars will doubtless favor the world in due time. I however shall confine myself almost wholly to contributing my mite towards the reading and interpretation of the inscription itself, though taking occasion to add such observations on the topics connected with it as shall spontaneously suggest themselves.

1 חֲלֹבְנִי בָּאַתְּ וְלֹא דָמְרוּתָה תֵּא אֶת אֶתְּבָה מִתְּהָאָתָה אַל יְהִי לְךָ וְכָלְמָד תְּלִי  
 0 צְבָנָתָה אַתְּבָה אֶת אֶתְּבָה תֵּא אֶת אֶתְּבָה וְכָלְמָד תְּלִי אֶת אֶתְּבָה  
 6 הַתְּהִנֵּם וְסִירְבָּם תְּאַלְמָם תְּקִרְשָׁם אֲתָה דָמְרוּתָה בְּאַתְּמָה מִלְּבָנָלְךָ  
 8 מִלְּבָנָלְךָ לְךָ לְדָמְמָה אֲתָה שְׁגָנָם וְלֹא וְפָרָעָה כָּלְמָד תְּלִי לְךָ  
 7 כְּלֹא אֶתְּבָה אֲלָמָה וְלֹא דָמְמָה וְלֹא אֶתְּבָה וְלֹא בְּמָא אֲלָמָה וְלֹא  
 9 אֲלָמָה אֲלָמָה אֲלָמָה וְלֹא אֶתְּבָה אֲלָמָה וְלֹא אֶתְּבָה אֲלָמָה וְלֹא  
 6 אֲלָמָה וְלֹא אֶתְּבָה אֲלָמָה וְלֹא אֶתְּבָה אֲלָמָה וְלֹא אֶתְּבָה אֲלָמָה  
 4 אֲלָמָה אֲלָמָה וְלֹא אֶתְּבָה אֲלָמָה וְלֹא אֶתְּבָה אֲלָמָה וְלֹא אֶתְּבָה  
 8 אֲלָמָה וְלֹא אֶתְּבָה אֲלָמָה וְלֹא אֶתְּבָה אֲלָמָה וְלֹא אֶתְּבָה אֲלָמָה  
 2 כְּלֹא אֶלְמָלְךָ וְכָלְמָד תְּלִי אֶלְמָלְךָ וְכָלְמָד תְּלִי אֶלְמָלְךָ  
 1 כְּלֹא אֶלְמָלְךָ וְכָלְמָד תְּלִי אֶלְמָלְךָ — וְלֹא אֶלְמָלְךָ וְכָלְמָד תְּלִי אֶלְמָלְךָ

22 נָלַמְתָּ תִּקְרַבְתָּ אֶל וַיַּקְנֵן מִמְּלֹכָה תְּאַתָּם מִרְמָתָה כְּרָשָׁם לְעָלָם

21 אֲלֵיכֶם אֲלֵיכֶם כְּלָמָדְתֶּם וְאַתָּה בְּשָׂרָבָר קְבֻּרָה וְבָרְבָּרָה

20 שְׁדָה שְׁדָה אַתָּה לְבָנָן כְּלָמָד כְּלָמָד וְאַתָּה אַתָּה וְבָרְבָּרָה

19 אֲתָה בְּאַל וְבַרְבָּר אֲרַצְךָ תְּהִרְבֵּן תְּהִרְבֵּן אֲתָה בְּשָׂרָבָר וְבָרְבָּרָה

18 לְאַלְמָנָם תְּהִרְבֵּן אֲרַצְיךָ יְמִינְךָ לְבָבֶל שְׁדָה וְבָבָבֶל לְאַלְמָנָם

17 אֲתָה כָּל כְּלָמָד [אֲלָמָד] רְשָׁעָה יְלִילָה בְּלִילָה רְשָׁעָה וְלִילָה וְלִילָה

16 אֲלָמָם אֲתָה בְּלִילָה אֲתָה יְמִינְךָ בְּלִילָה שְׁבָרָה וְשְׁבָרָה וְאַנְחָה

15 כְּלָמָתְךָ שְׁבָרָה רְשָׁעָה כְּלָמָתְךָ שְׁבָרָה אֲלָמָתְךָ שְׁבָרָה אֲלָמָתְךָ

14 שְׁבָרָה שְׁבָרָה שְׁבָרָה שְׁבָרָה בְּלִילָה שְׁבָרָה בְּלִילָה שְׁבָרָה וְאַנְחָה אַנְחָה

13 לְיִם תְּאַלְמָנָם תְּאַלְמָנָם בְּלִילָה שְׁבָרָה בְּלִילָה שְׁבָרָה וְאַנְחָה אַנְחָה

12 בְּלִילָה שְׁבָרָה אֲלָמָם תְּהִרְבֵּן שְׁבָרָה בְּלִילָה שְׁבָרָה בְּלִילָה בְּלִילָה

## TRANSLATION.

1. In the month Bul, in the year fourteen, the 13th anniversary of the king, King Ashmunyyer, king of the Sidonians,
2. son of King Tabnith, king of the Sidonians, spake King Ashmunyyer, king of the Sidonians, saying :
3. I, son of the molten sea-god, have received a wound from the hand of Mithumbenel ; I am dead, and am resting in my sepulchre and in my grave,
4. in the place which I built. My curse to every kingdom and to every man : Let him not open my resting-place, and
5. let not a son of liars seek that I destroy a son of liars, and let him not remove the sepulchre of my resting-place, and let him not take
6. the fruit of my resting-place [or] the cover of the resting-place where I sleep. Yea, if men speak to thee, hearken not to thine enticer. Any kingdom or
7. any man who shall open the cover of my resting-place, or who shall remove the sepulchre of my resting-place, or who shall take the fruit of my
8. resting-place, let them not have a resting-place with the shades, and let him not be buried in a grave, and let them not have a child, and let it go ill
9. because of them, and let the holy gods terrify them, even the kingdom with the ruling prince ; wholly cutting
10. them off, even the kingdom or that man who shall open the cover of my resting-place, or who shall remove
11. my sepulchre. Neith shall know of that matter. Yea, a man that slayeth they shall have no dwelling in peace. Good is
12. the judgment from on high ! Behold in life, as I was resting beneath the sun, I, son of the molten sea-god, received a wound
13. from the hand of Mithumbenel ; I, the king, am dead. I Ashmunyyer, king of the Sidonians, son
14. of King Tabnith, king of the Sidonians, grandson of King Ashmunyyer, king of the Sidonians, and my mother Emashtoreth,
15. priestess of Ashtoreth, our lady the queen, daughter of King Imanyyer, king of the Sidonians, behold we built the temple
16. of the gods, the temple of justice, by the sea—and justice is the support of the stars ! There shall they be worshipped ; and we
17. who have built a temple for the peoples, behold our guilt shall be diminished thereby, and there shall my children worship. And we who have built temples
18. to the god of the Sidonians, in Sidon, the land of the sea, a temple to Baal-Sidon, and a temple to Ashtoreth the glory of Baal, to us Lord Milcom giveth a city

19. the desire and beauty of the earth, our glorious delight, which is in the dwelling of our deity, to stretch out the fortresses which I have made; and they have been constructed
20. on the border of the land, to strengthen all the Sidonians for ever. My curse to every kingdom and to every man: Let him not open my cover,
21. and not remove my cover, and let him not take the fruit of my resting-place, and not remove the sepulchre of my resting-place. As for them, those
22. holy gods shall humble them; and they shall cut off that kingdom and the man that slayeth, that it may be ill with them for ever.

## NOTES.

Line 1.

**בִּרְךָ בָּל**. in the month *Bul*. What this means is shown in 1 Kings 6, 38, where it is said, בִּרְךָ בָּל הוּא הַחֹדֶשׁ הַשְׁמִינִי in the month *Bul*, that is, the eighth month. The occurrence of the term *Bul* in this place seems a sufficient refutation of the idea that this and some other ancient names applied to months in the Bible were rather appellatives than ordinary names.

**צָרָר** is the Aramaic form for the Heb. שָׁרֵךְ.

**אַיִלְׁוָן**. The curved longitudinal stroke signifies 10, and the perpendicular strokes are units (Gesen. Monn. Phoen. p. 85, sqq.) There are two coins published by Swinton (Philos. Trans. Vol. 4, Pl. 31), but omitted by Gesenius, which bear the dates **יְמִינָה תְּזִבְּעָה** (year cxxvi) and **יְמִינָה תְּזִבְּעָה** (year cxxviii).

Under both of them occurs the character **א** (whose alphabetical value is that of **ג**), of which Swinton offers no explanation. Perhaps it may be a contraction for **גָּל** = Heb. *গীল*, *circle, cycle, age*, but employed in the sense of annual revolution, *year*. In that case we may read **יְמִינָה גָּל מֶלֶכְיָה** — the 13th anniversary, or year, of my king or the king. For this use of the pronoun, comp. the Heb. אַלְנִיר, Syr. **خَنْبَر**, Fr. *monsieur*.

**אַשְׁמֻנִיאָר**. On No. 17 of the inscriptions found by

Pococke at Citium is the name **אַשְׁמַנְיָה**, which Gesenius reads **אַשְׁמַנְיָה-עִיר** — *Eshmun'-yyed (quem Aesculapius restituit)* (Monn. Phoen. p. 145). He remarks, however, that it might also be read **אַשְׁמַנְיָה** — *Eshmun'yyer (quem Aesculapius suscitavit)*, which likewise yields a good sense; and this latter reading is adopted by Movers, who remarks that the

name is also found in another inscription of Citium since discovered by the Grecian archæologist L. Ross (Art. *Phœnizier*, in Ersch u. Gruber's Encyclop. p. 424). In the Sidon inscription the forms of שׁ and ר are so confounded that, although the name occurs in it no less than four times (lines 1, 2, 13, 14), the proper reading cannot be determined from it. Supposing that the inscription of Ross (which I have not been able to see) is sufficiently clear to settle the question, I have followed the reading of Movers. The name אַשְׁמָנִי 'Eṣmuṇn, the Phœnician Aesculapius (Ges. Monn. Phœn., p. 136), occurs a number of times alone and in composition on inscriptions of Citium, Carthage, Athens, and Marseilles (Ges. l. c. p. 347, Movers l. c. p. 396); but this is the first time it has been found in Phœnicia proper.

**מלך אַשְׁמָנִי** King Ashmunyyer. In the titles מלך אַשְׁמָנִי, מלך הבנייה, מלך ארמְנִיר, מלך נגילה before the name of the sovereign, in accordance with the best Hebrew usage; but it has not as in Hebrew the article.

#### Line 2.

**חֲבִנָה**. Perhaps i. q. Heb. תְּבִנָה form, image, and hence to be read *Tabnith*.

**נְגִילָה** a thrust, wound, from נְגִיל (whence Heb. נְגִילָה a sickle) = Arab. **جَلِيل** to pierce. This and the following words appear again in lines 12, 13.

#### Line 3.

**בְּלֻעִית** I suppose to be employed, like the Pers. خوردن, which also means literally to swallow, in the sense of to receive, to suffer, as عذاب خوردن to suffer torment, غم to be afflicted; so that will mean I received (or had inflicted upon me) a wound. It is difficult to reconcile this form of the 1st pers. pret. with the Aramaean form בְּנָת (line 4), פָּעֵלָת (l. 19), unless we suppose it to be emphatic.

**מַסְכִּים יְמִם** I at first proposed to read either מַסְכִּים shelterers, protectors (Hiph. part. of סַכַּה), or perhaps better מַסְכִּים anointed ones (Hoph. part. of סַקְתָּה), in the sense of the passive of Kal, as in Ps. 2, 6. So that the phrase בֶן מַסְכִּים would signify the offspring or descendant of crowned heads or princes. Both these readings are however untenable, as they suppose an anomaly in the orthography of the plural termination, which elsewhere throughout the inscription is written, in the Phœnician manner, defectively. The reading adopted assumes מַסְכָּה to be i. q. the Heb. מַסְכָּה, and to mean a molten idol, a brazen god; and this may be either Baal (see 2 Chron. 28, 2) or Molech (see Ges.

Lex. art. **מִלְגָן**). The king may be supposed to call himself the *son* of his deity, either as his worshipper or as claiming descent from him in the style of Oriental sovereigns. As a counterpart to the expression *idol* or *god of the sea, sea-god*, to denote the god of a people bordering on the sea, we have the term **ארץ ים** *land of the sea*, applied (l. 18) to the Sidonian territory.

At the beginning of line 13 in the lithograph is a mark which resembles **ל**. If it were this letter, it would indicate that here probably are two nouns in the relation to each other of possessor and possessed, which relation in the former instance is indicated by their juxtaposition and in the latter by the prep. **ל**. But this does not appear to be the case; for the character differs in form from the other Lameds, and likewise projects somewhat beyond the margin of the inscription, so that we are justified in concluding that it is not a letter at all, but a mere scratch or flaw in the marble. This conclusion is confirmed by the MS. copy of the inscription received from Dr. DeForest, which presents no trace of the character in question.

**מַאֲרֵד**. Here **אִירֵד** is supposed to be the word **יד** written with **א** prosthetic, like Syr. **ܐܼܪܼܼܼ** *hand*.

**מִירְתְּמַבְּנָאֵל**. Perhaps the first part of the word is that of the Plautinian name *Muthumballes*, which, however, Gesenius reads **מִתְּגַבְּעֵל**, and Quatremère **מִתְּגַבְּעֵל**. May not its etymology be **מִרְיְתָן-גָּזָאֵל**?

**וַיְשַׁכֵּב** act. part. Kal. In the same sense Is. 14, 18: *all the kings of the nations lie in glory each in his own house*. Comp. too the oft recurring phrase **וַיְשַׁכֵּב עַם אֲבוֹתָיו בְּבִתָּהוּ** *and he slept with his fathers*. Gesenius remarks (Monn. Phœn. p. 438), that the act. part. is always written defectively in Phœnician. It should be observed, however, that both here and in the plural termination the Phœn. vowel may be *a*, in which case no mater lectionis is required.

**הַלֶּת** *in my sepulchre*. The connexions in which the word **הַלֶּת** occurs besides the present instance (lines 5, 7, 11, 21) show clearly that it signifies a *coffin* or *sarcophagus*. Accordingly we may regard it as meaning literally a *hollow vessel*, and compare Arab. **خَلِي** *a bee-hive, a ship*; **مَحْلَة** *a horse's nose-bag, a saddle-bag, wallet*; from **خَلِي** *to be empty*. Or we may suppose it to mean literally a *polished vessel*, from the root **הַלָּה** *to polish*; which last is singularly suitable to the description of the sarcophagus by the correspondent of the New York Journal of Commerce, who says: "The lid is a fine blue-black marble, intensely hard, and taking a *very fine polish*."

## Line 4.

**I built.** Whether this is to be considered as written defectively and pronounced *banti*, or whether it is to be read in the Aramaean manner *beneth*, it is not easy to say. The former opinion would seem the most probable from the fact that the verb above (if correctly interpreted) follows the Hebrew usage, as does also the verb *siccarthi* or *sicorathi* of Plautus, were it not that the omission of a sign for *i* at the end of a word is an anomaly unknown to the Shemitish languages.

**קְנִמֵּי** *my prohibition or my curse.* Buxtorf (Lex. Chald.) explains the Talmudical word קְרֻנוּם as a vow of prohibition, and קְנִמֵּי as *juramenta, vota cum execrationibus.* True, he says, is corrupted from קְרָבֵן, and if so, it could hardly be a Phœnician word; but it is difficult to see how this can be the case, as קְרָבֵן has a very different meaning.

**מַמְלָכָה** *kingdom.* The word also occurs in this form in lines 6, 10, 20, 22, and only once (l. 9) in the form מַמְלָכָא; and this agrees with the conclusions arrived at by Gesenius and Movers, who state that the fem. of Phœnician nouns is formed by far the most frequently in ח, seldom in נ, and never in כ. Why the form מַמְלָכָה should be used in line 9 I cannot say. It is probably the true reading on the coins of the two Jubas (Gesen. Monn. Phœn. Pl. 42).

**אֲלֵל יְפַתֵּח** *let him not open.* The negative particle אֲלֵל, corresponding to the Greek μή and Lat. *ne*, is found in Phœnician for the first time in this inscription, where it occurs repeatedly. בְּלֹ is used in the same sense in line 15 of the Marseilles inscription.

**אֲרִתָּה** *sign of the accusative, i. q. Heb. אה.* This form favors Hupfeld's opinion that אה is from the Aram. آرتا, i. q. يَشِيَّث. It agrees too with the Plautinian pronunciation *yth.*

**מַשְׁכֶּבֶן** *my resting-place.* מַשְׁכֶּב is used in the sense of *bier, coffin*, in Is. 57, 2. 2 Chron. 16, 14. and in the Oxford inscription (Ges. Monn. Phœn. p. 130).

## Line 5.

**אֲלֵל יְבַקֵּשׁ בְּנֵמֶנֶם כָּרְשָׁמְבְּנֵמֶנֶם**. It is evident that this, however we may read it, must make a complete sense. The following is proposed: אֲלֵל יְבַקֵּשׁ בְּנֵמֶנֶם כָּרְשָׁמְבְּנֵמֶנֶם: *let not a son of liars seek that I destroy a son of liars.* Here בְּנֵן is considered as the act. part. of בְּנֵן and i. q. Arab. مَانَنْ. The opprobrious term בְּנֵמֶנֶם applied to whomsoever shall violate the defunct's tomb is thus opposed to the honorable one of בְּנֵ מַכְדֵּן יְמֵן assumed by himself. The threatened destruction will be through the curses which follow.

וְאֶל יָעַמֵּס נִבְּ מִשְׁכְּבֵי and let him not take the fruit of my resting-place, i. e. my body contained within it. The verb occurs also in the Marseilles inscription (l. 13), in the phrase (as read by Movers) *אֲשֶׁר יָעַמֵּס פָּנָה אֱלֹהִים* which one brings before the gods. It seems that the verb *עָמַס*, like *נִשְׁאַת*, means primarily to lift or take up, and then to take, to bring. נִבְּ (נִבְּבָה) נִבְּ i. q. Heb. Is. 57, 19 in Cheth.), which is used in a similar figurative manner in Mal. 1, 12, where the food on the Lord's table is called נִבְּ its fruit.

## Line 6.

**עַלְתָּה**. We may derive it from the Aram. עַלְלָ to enter, and consider it to mean an entrance, opening, door; or from Heb. עַלְתָּה to go up, to ascend, when it will signify the upper part, top, lid. Either of these meanings will suit the context, as in each of the subsequent instances where it occurs it forms the complement of the verb פָּתַח to open. On account of the close connexion of the two languages it appears safer to adopt a Hebrew etymology when one offers.

**שְׁנִי** my sleep, from רִישֵׁן, which is repeatedly used in Scripture of the sleep of death. Hence the phrase מִשְׁכָּב שְׁנִי the resting-place where I sleep (lit. my resting-place of sleep) is closely analogous to the Hebrew מִשְׁכָּב נְחָזֵר my quiet resting-place of the Oxford inscription (Ges. Monn. Phoen. p. 130).

**אֲדָמִם** men. To avoid assuming a plural form of this noun, which is unknown in Hebrew, I at first read אֲםִ דְּבָר נָקַד if any man should say, Strike! i. e. break open the tomb; but the objections to this are still greater.

**נָקַד** yea, if men speak to thee, scil. urging thee to do this. In the verb the final Nun of the fut. 3d pers. plur. is retained, as occasionally in Hebrew and regularly in Aramaic; and so in רִיסְפָּנָה (l. 9), וִירִסְפָּנָה (l. 19), יִרְגָּדָנָה (l. 21), וִירְקָצָנָה (l. 22).

**בָּרְמָנָךְ**. The only illustration that presents itself of this word is the Arab. نَمْ, to sing, which is applied also to the cooing of doves, the stridulous noise of locusts, the twanging of a bow-string, &c. It may be considered as the act. part. (with prep. and suff.) signifying he who sings or mutters to thee, thine enticer. This seems forced, but it is the best I can do with it.

## Line 7.

**אָמָ** or; and so in line 10. This use of אָמָ is found also in the Marseilles inscription. See Movers, Phœn. Texte, II, 110.

## Line 8.

**לֹמְ** let them not have. So repeatedly in the Marseilles inscription; comp. especially the phrase בְּלִיכְנָה לְכָהָנָם the priests

*shall not have* (l. 15). The verb כִּיְצָה is i. q. the Arab. كَانَ, which means originally *to stand*, and then *to exist, to be*, like Ital. *star* and Span. *estar*. See Movers, Phœn. Texte II, 97; Ewald, Jahrb. der bibl. Wiss. I, 198; and Blau in the Zeitschr. der D. M. G. III, 441.

## Line 9.

תַּחֲתָכֶם because of them, i. q. Heb. תַּחֲתָרְדָּם or תַּחֲתָמָתָם. The נ may be considered as the plural termination retained before a suffix as in the verbs, or as the *Nun demonstrative* of the pronoun, the so-called *Nun epenthetic*. Comp. Ewald on the הבְּרָנְמָת of the Marseilles inscription, Jahrb. der bibl. Wiss. p. 201.

וְרֹסְרָנִים and let them terrify them. סְרָד i. q. Syr. خَوْفُ to fear; Pah., to terrify.

הָאֱלָנִים the gods. The Phœn. אלּוּ appears to be the Arab. إِلَهٌ <sup>ilahon</sup> with the *He* elided. We have here a gratifying confirmation of the genuineness of the Plautian Punic text, this being clearly the *alonim* of the Pœnulus, on which the scholiast Sisenna remarks, “*alon linguâ Punicâ esse deum;*” although nearly all interpreters have agreed in transcribing it עַלְוָנִים or עַלְיוֹנִים i. e. *most high ones, superi.* Comp. *Abdalonus* (עבד) (אַבְדָּלוֹנוּס) the name of a king of Sidon under Alexander the Great (Justin xi, 10). This word occurs again in lines 16 and 22, and in the singular in l. 18.

רָאֵשׁ מִשְׁלֵךְ a ruling head, i. e. chief, prince; comp. נָזִיל, 2 Chron. 7, 18.

בְּנִמְלֵל with cutting off, abscission. Used to give emphasis to the following verb.

כַּקְצִינִים cutting them off (shall be). Infin. of קְצִין or קְצִין with demonstr. and suff., the verb governing the suffix and the following nouns in the accusative. I at first assumed here a root קְצִין, and supposed the pret. to be used emphatically for the future.

## Line 10.

אָרוּם דָּא מִמְלָתָה דָּא that man; and with a fem. noun, אָרוּם דָּא that thing (l. 11), אָרוּם דָּא that kingdom (l. 22). We have here the primitive demonstrative דָּא (see Hupfeld in Zeitschr. f. K. d. Morgenl. II, 147), which Gesenius finds in the fourth line of the Sardinian inscription. Its plural בָּלָן, which occurs several times in the Pentateuch, appears in the expression אָלָן הַקְרָשָׂת אָלָן those holy gods (l. 22).

## Line 11.

**חֶלְתִּי**. So in the MS. copy of the inscription. The lithograph edition has **הָנִיר**.

**נָאָרָה**. If it be correct to read this as a proper name, it is probably that of the goddess *Neith* (*Nytiθ*), the Egyptian Athene worshipped at Saïs. (See Plat. Tim., quoted by Parthey in his Vocab. Copt. p. 567, and Plut. Isis et Osiris, cap. 9). The Egyptian orthography of the name was **ניסי** or **ניסי** or **ניסי**, i. e. *NeT* (Is. et Osir., Parthey's edit., p. 176). Gesenius thinks that he finds the name in certain Athenian and Carthaginian inscriptions under the form **תָּנִית** *Tanith* or *ta-Neith*, the first letter being the article, and that consequently *Nytiθ*, *Taracitis*, and *Aratit* are but different forms of the same name (see Monn. Phœn. pp. 115–118, 171, 172); but this is left for others to decide.

**רַדֵּעַ**. Whether we regard this as a pret., fut., or part., it is of the masc. form; so that the gender of the preceding noun (supposing it to be feminine) is neglected. Comp. Ges. Monn. Phœn. p. 216, and Blau in Ztschr. der D. M. G. p. 442.

**מִלְחָמָה** appears to be i. q. Syr. **מִלְחָמָה**, Chald. **מִלְחָמָה**, used like **מִלְחָמָה** in the sense of *thing*.

**מִלְחָמָה** *that slayeth*, part. Hiph. of **מַתַּת** *to die*, with the preformative **מִ** retained. Judas considers that he has found this form of the Hiphil in the fut. **רִדְעָנָה** (Étude Démonstr. p. 135). The word **מִלְחָמָה** occurs also with **הָאָרָם** in line 22. This phrase **מִלְחָמָה** occurs in line 17 of the Marseilles inscription, which unfortunately is a broken one, so that the sense is left doubtful. Various explanations of the word **מִלְחָמָה** are proposed by Moovers and Ewald; but neither of them would suit the context of our inscription.

**לָבָם** *to them*. The change from the singular to the plural and vice versa in propositions of a general nature, where the subject is indeterminate and may be regarded at the will of the writer as consisting of one or many, is so common in Hebrew that we feel no surprise at meeting with it here.

**שָׁב** *dwelling*. Supposed to be formed by apocope from **בְּשָׁבָם**.

**טוֹב דַּן מִלְוָה** *good is the judgment from on high*, i. e. from the places above, the sky, heaven, **עֲלֹתָה** being a fem. used as a neuter. The allusion is to the punishments decreed and executed by Heaven against the wicked for their misdeeds. We might also read **מִלְוָה אֶיךָ** *from above the sky*, taking **אֶיךָ** as i. q. Heb. **אֶיךָ** *vapor*, and hence *cloud, sky*; like Heb. **קָחָשָׁה**, *dust, cloud*, and then *sky, heaven*, as in Ps. 89, 7. 38. It must be remarked however that the MS. copy of the inscription, which in general appears to be the most entitled to confidence, has **דָל** instead of **אֶיךָ**.

## Line 12.

אָדָּן *behold*, like Arab. أَنْ. The same word seems to have stood in line 17, although the אָ has disappeared.

בְּחִיָּם *in life*, or *among the living*, an expression found in several inscriptions of Athens and Citium (see Ges. Monn. Phoen. p. 349 b).

כַּאֲנָךְ נַחַן *as I was resting (sleeping?)*. נַחַן act. part. of נִחַן with suff. 1 pers. sing. in the Aramaean manner (Hoffm. Gr. Syr. p. 177), which is also used in the Syriac with a preceding pronoun (Hoffm. p. 345).

## Line 14.

אַמְתָּשְׁתָּרָה *Emashtoreth* (i. e. mother of Astarte). In line 3 of the Oxford inscription we have also the name of a woman אַמְתָּשְׁתָּרָה *Amatashtoreth* (*handmaid of Astarte*).

## Line 15.

כְּהַנֶּת *priestess*. The masc. *priest* and כְּהַנִּים *priests* occur repeatedly in the Marseilles inscription. Movers shows (Die Phœnizier, III, 512 sq. 547 sq.) that Astarte was the highest national goddess of the Sidonians, and especially of their ruling race: so that the high priest of the goddess was *the* high priest of the land, and the office was the prerogative of the metropolis and was filled by the nearest relative of the king.

רַבָּת *our lady*. The term *Rabba* is found repeatedly in inscriptions applied both to deities and to mortals. See Blau in Ztschr. der D. M. G. III, 434.

## Line 16.

בַּת דָּין *temple of justice*. It would appear that among the Phœnicians the temple of worship was used also as a hall of justice, as among the Hebrews, whose בֵּית דָין הַגָּדוֹל or *great court of justice* was held in the temple at Jerusalem.

אַדָּה. Supposed to be i. q. Heb. אֲזֹרוֹת, and to mean *around, about, by*. I at first read יְמִינָה בַּת דָּינָה *a temple of justice, a temple of the sea*, i. e. by the sea.

אַיְתָד. Supposed to be i. q. Heb. יְחֻדָּה *peg*, and then used figuratively, as in Heb. and Arab., in the sense of *support*. See Rosenmüller on Zech. 10, 4, where it stands parallel with פְּזָה *corner-stone*. As for the נָ prosth., comp. אַרְד (l. 3, 13) i. q. Heb. יְרָד.

שְׁתִירָה *stars*. We may suppose this word to be chosen by way of allusion to the meaning of the name שְׁתִירָה.

מְאַדְּרָת *magnified, honored, worshipped*; part. Pual of אַדְּרָה *worshipped*. The Piel part. occurs in the following line.

וְאָנֹכִי. Here we are presented for the first time with the Phœn. pron. of the 1st pers. plur., which agrees in its termination with the frequently occurring suffix **ן**. It is used in the nominative absolute both here and in the following line.

## Line 17.

**בַת לְאַמּוֹת** *a temple of the peoples.* **לְאַמּוֹת** plur. of **לְאַמּה** a poetical term. The meaning seems to be that this is a temple to which the nations should come to worship (comp. 1 Kings 8, 41–43). Blau thinks that he has found this same noun in the third line of the Eryx inscription in a contracted form in the word **לְלַמָּה** *to her people* (Ztschr. der D. M. G. III, 441).

**יְדַלֵּל.** From **דָלֵל** *to be thin, slight, small;* like Syr. **וְ.**

**בְּהַד** *thereby.* **הַד** is here taken to be i. q. Chald. **הַדָּא**, Heb. **הַזָּה**. Buxtorf shows (Lex. Chald. col. 489) that **אָאָה** corresponds in the Targum to the Heb. **זָהָת**, which is used absolutely without reference to any particular noun. The meaning will then be that those who worship in this temple shall in consequence receive pardon for their sins. Comp. 1 Kings 8, 30–53.

## Line 18.

**בַת אֶרְצָ יָם** *the land of the sea,* i. e. lying on the sea-coast.

**בָּעֵל צָהָן** lit. *the Lord of Sidon;* like **בָּעֵל צְדָקָה** *the Lord of Tyre*, in the first Maltese inscription.

**בַת לְעַשְׁתָּרָה** *a temple to Ashtoreth.* According to Movers (Die Phœnizier I, 602, 605) a large temple of Astarte in Sidon is spoken of both by Achilles Tatius and by Lucian.

**שֵם בָּעֵל** *the glory (lit. name, renown) of Baal.* Baal is the sun, or king of the heavens, and Astarte the moon, or queen of the heavens; hence it appears she is called his *glory*, his bright and beautiful counterpart.

**אֲדָן מִלְכָם** *Lord Milcom.* So **אֲדָן בָּעֵל חַמְנָן** *Lord Baal Hamman*, Numid. inscr. 1–3. *Milcom*, or *Moloch*, in his character of the Phœnician Mars, is here said to have given the Sidonians their city; meaning that they had obtained it originally, or (which is more probable) that they had recently regained it, from other possessors by force of arms.

## Line 19.

**דָאָד** *desire,* i. q. Heb. **דָוָד**. If the context would permit, we might read **דָאָר** (in the O. Test. also written **דוֹר**) *Dora*, the southernmost town of the Phœnicians; and so we might find in this and the following line the names **מָרָתָה** and **גְּבָל**.

**יְרִיפִי אֶרְץ** *and beauty of the earth.* So the Tyrians applied to their city the appellation **כָּלִילָת יְפֵי** *perfect in beauty, or perfectly beautiful*, Ezek. 27, 3; comp. 27, 4. 11. 28, 12. 17.

תְּרִיגָן הַאֲדֹרֶת our glorious delight. We regard as an abstract noun formed, by prefixing תְ, from the Aramaic root רְגֵג, and corresponding to the Heb. חִמְדָה lit. desire, delight; comp. the phrase אָרֶץ חִמְדָה. Michaelis quotes the phrase פְּנֵי מִזְבֵּחַ כְּתַבְנָה pulchra et splendida ædifica (Lex. Syr. p. 847). If the context permitted, we might translate *Tarragon the great.*

אֲשֶׁר בְּשָׁרוֹן which is in the dwelling of our deity, i. e. which is situated in the land of Phoenicia, the peculiar dwelling-place of the national god מלך or מלכֶת. The MS. copy has or בְּשָׁר בְּשָׁרוֹן to stretch out (or stretching out) the fortresses, i. e. enabling us to erect the long line of fortifications.

אֲשֶׁר פְּעָלָה which I have made, i. e. reared, constructed. So the MS. copy. The form of the third letter in the lithograph edition would allow us to read אֲשֶׁר בְּעַלְתָּךְ of which thou art Lord; but the sense is not so good.

וְרִסְפְּנוּם and they have constructed them, the plur. used impersonally, i. q. they have been constructed. סְפִּנָּה to cover with boards, and hence to build, construct.

#### Line 20.

עַלְתָּךְ on, upon. Either a fem. sing. or plur. abstract noun, lit. top, used as a preposition. See on 1. 12.

גָּבֵל border, boundary, Heb. גָּבֵל.

לְכַנֵּן to set firm, establish, strengthen, Polel infin. of כִּין. The deceased king claims not only to have assisted in erecting temples to secure to his people the favor of their gods, but also to have constructed fortresses to defend them against the assaults of their human enemies.

#### Line 21.

וְאֶל יַעֲזֵד and let him not remove. יַעֲזֵד fut. apoc. Hiph. of עַדְתָּה.

לְמֵם as for them, used absolutely. See Ges. Lex. under ל 14. c.

וְיִסְרְגָּנֶם shall humble them; taking the verb as the Piel or Hiphil of סְגַד to fall down, to prostrate oneself. Comp. הַשְׁחַתָּה. I at first read יִסְרְגָּנֶם, as in line 9, supposing that the copyist had omitted a portion of the third letter, which made it resemble a ג; but as the reading of the MS. copy supports that of the lithograph, it is safer to yield to their joint authority.

#### Line 22.

וְיִקְצַּנֵּה מֶמְלָכָתְךָ and they shall cut it off, that kingdom. This pleonastic use of the pronominal suffix before the noun forming the object of a verb is found in Hebrew (Nord. Heb. Gram. II, 109).

## CONCLUSION.

The reader who has perused the foregoing attempt at explaining the inscription will scarcely need to be reminded that in it some things are certain, others doubtful, and others little better than guesses. Error and imperfection are the usual fate of first essays of the sort; but a beginning must be made, and it will be comparatively easy for minds coming fresh to the subject and applied directly to the doubtful passages to make a nearer approximation to the truth.

Dr. Mövers (*Art. Phönizien* in Ersch. u. Gruber's *Encyklopädie*, p. 425) divides Phœnician inscriptions, as respects the forms of their letters, their language, and their age, into two classes. The older, to which belong those of Marseilles, Carthage, Citium, Malta, Athens, and most of the coins of Phœnicia and the neighboring regions to the north, exhibit the old Phœnician type of letters, a regular orthography, and a language still free from foreign influences and later degeneracies. These advantages, especially the graphic ones, are found in their greatest completeness in the inscription of Marseilles, which is demonstrably the oldest, belonging to the first half of the 4th century B. C., while the monuments of northern Phœnicia and Cilicia belong to the latter half of this century. The second class of monuments proceed from times and regions where the culture and the language of the Phœnicians were considerably affected by foreign elements: these are the so-called Numidian inscriptions, and also those found in Sardinia and in other Liby-Phœnician countries, together with the Punic coins, which belong to the Liby-Phœnician cities on the coast of Africa, to the islands of Cossura and Ivica, and to several Turditanian cities. In this latter class both the form of the letters and the orthography are equally degenerate. There is hardly one of these numerous inscriptions that does not present doubtful characters, and the guttural and vowel letters are confounded in them in a manner without parallel in the Shemitish languages.

It is to the former class, as was to be expected, that our inscription belongs. Its interest is greater both on this account and as being the first inscription properly so-called that has yet been found in Phœnicia proper, which had previously furnished only some coins and an inscribed gem. It is also the longest inscription hitherto discovered, that of Marseilles—which approaches it the nearest in the form of its characters, the purity of its language, and its extent—consisting of but 21 lines and fragments of lines.

The corrupt orthography and style of many of the inscriptions found in Africa and elsewhere which first attracted the attention of scholars, together with the inaccurate manner in which they were copied, and which enhanced the difficulty of reading them correctly,

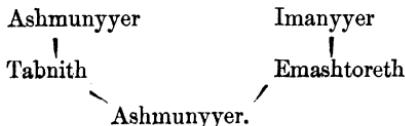
naturally caused the Phœnician language to be regarded as differing much more widely from the Hebrew than it does in reality ; but the inscription before us confirms the opinion held since the discovery of that of Marseilles, that the Phœnician language in its purity, besides a slight tinge of Aramaism, differs but little from the Biblical Hebrew. This is a gratifying discovery for two reasons : first, because it facilitates the correct reading and interpretation of the inscriptions themselves, and secondly because each document in it that is brought to light will prove a direct contribution towards elucidating the language of the Hebrew Scriptures.

The forms of the letters in the Sidon inscription and that of Marseilles are very similar, the principal difference being that, as a general rule, the characters of the former have a slightly more rounded and consequently less antique contour. The 'Ain, however, of the former is always a complete circle ; whereas in the latter it has the modern characteristic of an opening at the top. In the Sidon inscription the *Yod* runs through many different forms, from the oldest to the most recent ; and the forms of ֤ and ֥, to which is sometimes to be added ֦ (which in that of Marseilles are accurately distinguished) are utterly confounded together, so that there is no distinction that holds between them, either in the form of the head, the degree of inclination from the perpendicular, or the length of the stem. Our copies of it are certainly much better executed than those of the generality of the inscriptions we possess ; yet under the circumstances nothing but a plaster cast or other fac-simile can be regarded as a satisfactory basis for a final interpretation of the monument.

The orthography of this as of other Phœnician inscriptions is characterized by a more systematic omission of the *matres lectionis* than is found even in the oldest Hebrew writings.

As for the language of the inscription it bears marks of antiquity which are obsolescent in the Biblical Hebrew : such as the use in plain prose of primitive words which in Hebrew are found not at all or only as poetical archaisms ; the retention of the fem. affirmative ְ, of the ֶ of the plural of verbs, and perhaps of the ַ preformative of the Hiphil ; the non-employment of the definite article in repeated instances where it would be used in Hebrew, &c.

As a contribution to Phœnician history we have the names of the defunct ruler and his ancestors to the third degree both on the paternal and maternal side, thus :



Not only the father and paternal grandfather of the deceased king are said to have been *kings of Sidon*, but also his maternal grandfather. What was the order of succession between them, or indeed where they are to be placed at all, we have not the means of deciding ; but the ancient form of the characters and the purity of the language of the inscription (as far as it can be made out with certainty), with the fact that Sidon appears to have been ruled by native independent sovereigns (though their independence may be questioned), induce us to place it before the conquest of Alexander, namely as early as the middle of the 4th century B. C.

It however by no means follows that because we are now without the means of answering these questions definitively, we shall always remain so. The fondness of the Phoenicians for commemorating in this durable manner public and private events, the fact that no systematic exploration of the sites of towns in Phoenicia and most of her colonies has ever been undertaken, the extensive ruins that are known to exist (above all those of Tyre herself), and the number of educated men now in northern Africa and the Levant, lead naturally to the hope and expectation that many more extensive and more interesting monuments of this people will ere long be discovered than have yet been brought to light.

### VIII. EXTRACTS FROM CORRESPONDENCE.

#### 1. From a Letter from Rev. D. T. Stoddard, of Orûmiah.

Seir, Oroomiah, Jan. 16, 1854.

Since writing you, I have made a pretty thorough examination of the Jews' language, as spoken in this vicinity, and have now the materials for drawing up a paper on that subject. When you see Dr. Robinson, will you be good enough to consult with him as to the question whether it is worth while to give the details of that language, or only a few outlines of the grammar.

When I shall get time to attend to the subject again is quite uncertain. Our missionary labors demand most of our strength and thoughts.